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of one class modify all the other activities of the same society, and even produce theological, military, industrial, and other social types; (4) the principle of equivalence, based upon the importance of the simplest functions to all the rest, which excludes any hierarchical arrangement of social functions based upon their importance, and exhibits them in mutual subordination—that is, in equivalence; (5) the principle of differentiation, Spencer's principle of continual progression from confused homogeneity to definite and co-ordinated heterogeneity.

To these he adds that the fundamental law of social evolution is that social relationships first engender intellectual phenomena, but that intellectual phenomena, once present, so react upon their own cause that intellectual evolution issuing as it does from social realities yet is the basal determinant of social evolution.

This review cannot attempt anything like a complete enumeration of the points included under the heading of principles of general sociology as distinguished from results of the special social sciences, but one more point specially calling for mention is the fact that our author exhibits the "process" viewpoint, even saying: "There is nothing static in social reality, and nothing of anatomy, in the sense of structure, independent of function."

In referring to the agents of social progress he employs the phrase "social technician" (p. 333). He emphasizes the statement that the progress of any society can be effectively led only by an élite group which that society has itself produced.

No doubt, the rapid development of sociological thought in France precludes the possibility of presenting a complete system of sociology that would command the entire assent of all competent French writers. But the present volume derives great interest from the fact that it formulates not the results of a single system-maker, but that which an able scholar regards as a "consensus of the competent."

EDWARD CARY HAYES

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An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States.

By CHARLES A. BEARD. New York: Macmillan, 1913.

Pp. vii+330. \$2.25.

To those who have credulously found in the history of our constitution a story of inspired, harmonious statesmen, untainted by economic or financial interests, founding a government on the abstract speculations of political philosophy, this interesting and instructive volume will

afford a rude awakening. But those who believe that the problem of the fathers was the careful adjustment and compromise of the interests of conflicting groups, vesting the immediate controlling power in those groups whose interests were identified with the cause of order and efficiency, and who recognize that economic factors are the bases of the conflicting interests, will accept its main thesis with approval. To this latter class neither the theory nor the viewpoint will be new, although it is the first effort at a systematic treatment of the subject. It comprehends all of the scattering material produced by others and in addition much new evidence that now appears for the first time. Much emphasis is based upon the possibilities and importance of more thorough investigations along this line, the author declaring that the present work is but fragmentary and published with the "hope that a few of this generation of historical scholars may be encouraged to turn away from barren 'political' history to a study of the real economic forces which condition great movements in politics" (p. v).

The author's thesis seems to be as follows:

Different degrees and kinds of property inevitably exist in modern society; party doctrines and "principles" originate in the sentiments and views which the possession of various kinds of property creates in the minds of the possessors; class and group divisions based on property lie at the basis of modern government; and politics and constitutional law are inevitably a reflex of these contending interests" [pp. 15-16].

His application of this theory and methods of proof are indicated in his own words:

Suppose . . . that substantially all of the merchants, money-lenders, security-holders, manufacturers, shippers, capitalists, and financiers and their professional associates are to be found on one side in support of the constitution and that substantially all or the major portion of the opposition came from the non-slaveholding farmers and the debtors—would it not be pretty conclusively demonstrated that our fundamental law was not the product of an abstraction known as "the whole people," but of a group of economic interests which must have expected beneficial results from its adoption? [p. 17].

As evidence of the existence of a class spirit in 1787, the writer in his second chapter submits the facts of Shay's Rebellion and the popular advocacy of various schemes for the relief of debtors, such as the abolition of imprisonment for debt, paper money, stay laws, the substitution of land for specie in the payment of debts, and similar provisions, tending to show a clear community of interests among the members of

the debtor class. They were obviously opposed to a stable government capable of collecting taxes and enforcing contracts. Opposed to them were the southern slaveholders interested in a government capable of protecting the rights of slaveholders and keeping down revolt, the creditors naturally opposing the interests of the debtors, the holders of public securities which would appreciate \$40,000,000 through the establishment of a powerful government, the manufacturers and shippers who associated the adoption of the new constitution with schemes for protective tariff, and the western land speculators whose interests were directly conditioned on a national government of strength and efficiency. Chap. iii is devoted to the proof that the movement for the new constitution was largely created and supported by the representatives of this latter class. That the constitutional convention was in their control seems amply demonstrated in chap. v. An examination into the economic and professional interests of the members of the conventions gives the following results: Most of the members came from the towns or near the coast where personal property was largely concentrated; "not one member represented in his immediate personal economic interests the small farming or mechanic classes" (p. 149); forty out of fifty-five members were interested in the public securities, and fully "five-sixths were immediately, directly, and personally interested in the outcome of their labors at Philadelphia, and were to a greater or less extent economic beneficiaries from the adoption of the constitution" (p. 149). The cause of this is explained in chap. iv by the fact that the delegates to the convention were selected by state legislatures which in turn were chosen by an electorate subject to property or taxpaying qualifications.

In chaps. vi and vii the constitution and the expositions of it found in the *Federalist* are analyzed to demonstrate that its chief concern was with economic problems and not abstract conceptions of liberty and justice. An examination into the political beliefs of the members of the convention seems to indicate that these commentaries of the *Federalist* on the constitution accurately represented the political ideas of the majority. "It was an economic document drawn with superb skill by men whose property interests were immediately at stake; and as such it appealed directly and unerringly to identical interests in the country at large" (p. 188).

The four final chapters deal with the ratification of the constitution. It is contended that not one-fifth of the adult males and not one-half of those voting for delegates to the state constitutional conventions were

favorable to ratification. The final adoption of the constitution was due to the superior skill and greater resources of its advocates. In analyzing the vote, the movement for ratification seemed to center "particularly in the regions in which mercantile, manufacturing, security, and personalty interests generally had their greatest strength" (p. 290). "The opposition to the constitution almost uniformly came from the agricultural regions and from the areas in which debtors had been formulating paper money and other depreciatory schemes" (p. 291). An analysis of the contemporary literature dealing with the contest for ratification seems to justify the foregoing conclusions.

While some may differ as to the relative value of the evidence submitted by Professor Beard and decline to accept in detail all of his interpretations, yet none will deny that new light has been thrown upon this important question and that to a limited extent at least his position is unassailable. The author's attitude throughout has seemed fair and honest. He has scrupulously avoided any moral issues that might be raised, has refrained from commendation or condemnation of either side, and confined his efforts exclusively to ascertaining the real forces that governed in the making of our constitution.

ARNOLD B. HALL

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American Syndicalism: The I.W.W. By JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS.
New York: Macmillan Co. \$1.25.

Syndicalism is a relatively recent movement; it did not amount to much even in France until 1905. The I.W.W. became a national factor in the American labor union and Socialist movement only with the Lawrence strike early in 1912. If we consider this newness, both our publishers and our publicists are to be congratulated on the prompt and thorough way they are dealing with the subject. The most scientific work is undoubtedly Louis Levine's *Labor Movement in France*. But French syndicalism is also fearlessly expounded by an insider in André Tridon's *New Unionism*—which unfortunately presents itself as the study of the world-movement. Dr. Brooks had the newer and more difficult problem. But as he has been a direct observer of the I.W.W. from its very beginnings he has handled it with gratifying accuracy and sympathy—though he does not deny his hostility to most of its principles and methods.

Dr. Brooks's description is usually just, even when he is most critical. He has taken all pains to be accurate as to his facts, and has weighed